

BERLIN: *JFK military strategy probed* (567)

DODD: *Scores continued trade with Reds* (568)

LATIN AID: *Sen. Morton chides program* (568)

REDS: *New drive against anti-Communists* (569)

GOP: *Rocky angers Republican Congressmen* (570)

Why We Lost East Berlin: The Soviets seized East Berlin and have got away with it. Spreading realization of this realistic view of the Berlin crisis has watered down the initial enthusiasm in Congress for Vice President Lyndon Johnson's visit to the German storm center, and has made it appear as of only temporary influence.

Hence, Capitol Hill has begun to inquire as to just why the Kennedy policy has failed. Members of congressional committees which consult frequently with military men supply an answer: Kennedy's reliance on ground forces as the "threat" to Khrushchev and refusal to "rattle" our missiles and air power.

After the President's key speech on July 25, HUMAN EVENTS reported that military circles remained critical and asked, "Why didn't JFK make it clear that a nuclear retaliation would be our reaction to Communist violation of existing agreements regarding Berlin?" These military circles, we reported, were "dubious about the speech's impact on Khrushchev." Actually, they were afraid this weak Kennedy stance would encourage Red aggression. Today, this fear has apparently been confirmed.

One veteran Capital newsman, Frank Holeman of the Washington bureau of the New York *Daily News*, says Kennedy should have followed Eisenhower's effective way of handling Khrushchev two years ago when the Russian threatened to take East Berlin. Ike bluntly said, "We certainly are not going to fight a ground war in Europe," intimating to the Soviet dictator that, "If you start a war in Europe, Russia will be blown off the map."

Ike's well-known policy of "massive retaliation," of "holding the threat of all-out atomic war over any aggressor," worked in Berlin in 1959, says Holeman.

By contrast, Kennedy merely revealed plans for increasing the Army for conventional warfare; Khrushchev, with his preponderant ground force strength, scarcely fears this. Military men, says Holeman, claim "that Kennedy's Army buildup may actually encourage Khrushchev to grab for Berlin, not deter him," for he interprets this "Maxwell

Taylor" strategy as a sign Kennedy will shrink from atomic warfare to save Berlin. (General Maxwell Taylor, an advocate of conventional warfare, is the White House military adviser.)

Another military man says that Kennedy revealed this "bayonets, not atom bombs" strategy many months ago—which suggests that Moscow was never impressed with JFK's "strong words" of July 25. General Bonner Fellers (head of the Citizens' Foreign Aid Committee and former aide to General Douglas MacArthur), testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently, suggested that the President's defense policy was "made in Moscow." He quoted a March 30 news dispatch from Chicago *Sun-Times* Washington correspondent Thomas B. Ross, who told this story:

In November, 1960, after the election, Professor Walt W. Rostow (destined to be the Kennedy adviser on national security) went to Moscow and conferred with Soviet Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov. The latter complained that our bombers and missiles appeared to be only of a "first-strike" capability—that is, they were too vulnerable to destruction by a Russian rocket attack to be of much use in a counter punch. This, Kuznetsov implied, reflected our intent to initiate a "first strike" against Russia. Rostow became convinced the US defense effort should be to create a "second strike" capability, and reported to Kennedy:

"They [the Soviets] will respect us for doing this—even if we enlarge the military budget—so long as our moves are not designed to increase our first strike capability."

As a result, Fellers pointed out, Kennedy's defense message of last March said, "We are not creating forces for a first-strike against any other nation." The Chicago *Sun-Times* story (which Fellers said is "thoroughly reliable") reported that "large sections of the President's defense message were written explicitly for the consumption of top Russian officials . . . emphasis on 'second-strike' capability ran through all the White House meetings on the defense message." The Administration classified the B-70 as a "first-strike" weapon and deleted reference to it from the Kennedy message.

General Fellers told the Senators: "The Reds know we will not strike first. What they really want is to eliminate our principal nuclear striking force; then they would have a free hand everywhere. Several years ago Soviet leaders tried to induce General Twining [of the US Air Force] to take the same stand against first-strike weapons that Dr. Rostow has taken. But General Twining, being more sophisticated on military matters, refused."

These gloomy observations are somewhat dispelled by a statement given to HUMAN EVENTS (as we went to press) by General Fellers: "We can retrieve our military posture by a general strengthening of our military defense, by resumption of nuclear testing and an adequate intercontinental bomber [B-70] replacement program. These measures are the best prescription for curing the Berlin problem as it stands today."

Appeasement—What Next? Observers in the Capital speculate as to what the Fifth Column in the US will propose next, now that East Berlin has been grabbed by the Soviets. They warn—watch for a move, probably in liberal papers or columns, suggesting that the West recognize Russian absorption of the Baltic States. It is recalled that Anthony Eden proposed this in Moscow during the late war. Khrushchev might like it for it would signify an initial break in the Western policy of non-recognition of the Soviet hold on captive nations in Eastern Europe.

Also possible—say observers—would be a developing press propaganda campaign to blame the Germans for our failure to prevent Khrushchev's grab. Such a press drive would center not only on the activity of such West German politicians as Mayor Brandt, but would ring the charges of the old wartime argument that the last two wars arose from the alleged warlike nature of the German people.

Tools to Russia: After scoring the Administration for offering the German people too-little, too-late support in the Berlin crisis, Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) proposed an effective offensive weapon against the Red harassment. "We should immediately suspend all shipments of machine tools to the entire Soviet bloc," he stated.

Dodd has had a running fight with the Commerce Department, which maintains that such tools don't endanger national security. (Meanwhile, the House Rules Committee adopted a resolution calling for investigation of the Export Control Act.)

The Connecticut legislator reiterated last week that the Russians sorely need machine tools because "their machine tool industry suffers from a chronic inability to produce high precision equipment."

Russia now gets most of its machine tools from East Germany, but the industrial capacity of that area has fallen sharply because of manpower defections to the West. Dodd termed the Commerce Department's continued insistence that the tools sent by US firms are not strategic "the most dangerous kind of folly."

"Since the Soviets threaten us with war, since there is a very serious chance that their threats and aggression may actually result in war, I propose that we terminate this folly forthwith by suspending all shipments of machine tools and chemical processing equipment until the Soviets cease to threaten the peace"

The volume of goods flowing behind the Iron Curtain has increased 800 per cent since JFK's speech on the Berlin crisis. Among the products were \$107,000 worth of the above-mentioned machine tools, \$1.7 million worth of synthetic rubber and \$2.5 million worth of rail equipment for Russia and her satellites. The three-week total was over \$6 million, AP reports, and the Commerce Department "ruled that none of these proposed shipments would endanger national security."

Latin Aid Program: Senator Thruston Morton (R.-Ky.) predicted over radio station WHAS in Louisville last week that Congress would not support all of the United States pledges of aid made at the Alliance for Progress conference in Uruguay. He said he was against part of the program himself for a variety of reasons.

This statement assumes importance inasmuch as the Senator was a long-time supporter of foreign aid, as was Congressman D. S. Saund (D.-Calif.) who threw a monkey wrench into the House version of the President's much-heralded, long-term aid program.

Observers on Capitol Hill attribute Morton's reluctance to endorse the program—and his prediction that Congressmen from "both sides of the aisle" will oppose much of it—to grass-roots mail vigorously opposed to our foreign aid program.

Senator Morton criticized the fact that the Administration announcement of aid pledges was made after precious little consultation with members of Congress. He also accused the conference of submitting to pressures from Brazil, which opposed a proposed declaration calling for free periodic elections in all of the Americas, including Cuba.

- Many Congressmen are also beginning to worry about who will administer the aid program if it passes. It is noted that Lauchlin Currie, who has been listed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as handing over secret US documents to a Soviet spy ring, is an economic adviser to the government of Colombia. Press reports suggest that Currie may participate in the spending of US aid in Colombia.

Education: Federal aid-to-education proponents received a setback last week when New York's Catholic Archbishop, Francis Cardinal Spellman, stated his opposition to that principle. Not known as an admirer of the New Frontier's philosophy, Cardinal Spellman said that Federal aid would undermine "all private education" by giving the public schools, in effect, a "monopoly" status. He said that such aid would not serve "the best interests of this nation."

Cardinal Spellman's warning of a public school monopoly of education recalls a May 19, 1954 HUMAN EVENTS article by Frank Chodorov. Speaking of a "public school trust" (a term synonymous with Spellman's "monopoly"), Chodorov maintained that, far from turning the public school system over to a Federal bureaucracy, it should be placed in compe-

tition with private schools. In this way, he maintained, public schools would be forced to strive to meet the standards set by good private institutions—a healthy competitive system which could not exist if Federal aid is allowed to turn education into a virtual public school “monopoly” or “trust.”

Civil Rights: Over the anguished cries of Northern liberals, the House Judiciary Committee recently adopted an amendment that would enable the Civil Rights Commission to investigate all vote frauds, including those committed by Big-City Democratic machines.

Currently the Commission can investigate only minority group complaints. The recently-approved amendment of Representative William C. Cramer (R.-Fla.) would enable Federal investigators to probe such vote frauds as occurred last November in Cook County, Illinois, and other Northern areas.

The Cramer amendment was adopted 16-10. Among those voting against the measure were the following strong Democratic advocates of civil rights legislation: Chairman Emanuel Celler and Lester Holtzman of New York, Peter Rodino of New Jersey and Herman Toll of Pennsylvania.

Cramer argues that the right to vote is a basic civil right and should be protected for all Americans, black and white, Northern and Southern.

US Reds at Work: The author who introduced the term “brainwashing” into the English language recently told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that a Moscow-directed plan is in motion to discredit the upsurge of grass-roots anti-communism in America.

In the testimony just released, Edward Hunter, author of *Brainwashing: The Story of Men Who Defied It* (1956), told the Senate group that “whereas the grass-roots movement was a spontaneous local development in most areas, there is nothing spontaneous nor local about the drive to crush it; it is an organized psychological warfare operation that has all the markings of staff planning.” Hunter testified July 11 that the Communist Party, USA, would come out with an “anti-anti-Communist” drive. Three days later *The Worker*, official Red organ, confirmed Hunter’s prophecy by publishing a directive by CP-USA boss Gus Hall, who led off by stating that “the threat from the ultra-right continues to mount in the United States.” Hall warned the comrades that “an organized movement of the Fascist type,” financed by “big business,” was emerging, and that it is “spearheaded” by “the John Birch Society.” The Red boss warned that “higher military personnel,” notably General Edwin Walker, were “characteristic of this growing Fascist movement.”

Hunter also noted, in an appendix to his testimony, “the extraordinary synchronization in the anti-anti-Communist drive.” He pointed out how liberal newspapers and columnists picked up and disseminated the Hall line.

Fulbright: Speaking before the National War College in Washington last week, Senate Foreign Relations Chairman J. William Fulbright was outspoken in support of his now famous memorandum regarding the military. The Senator claimed that his memorandum was “directed solely at the impropriety of officers of the armed services permitting their prestige and official status to be exploited by persons with extreme views on highly controversial issues.”

To get an idea of just what sort of “extreme” positions Fulbright opposes, one must look to the *March Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, which is a supplement to the memorandum. The attacks against the Foreign Policy Research Institute and the Institute for American Strategy in Fulbright’s memorandum are based on one of the articles in the *Bulletin*. The article condemns these two organizations because they “see the ultimate objective of world domination as an immutable and dominant force in Communist strategy.” In short, anybody who believes this proposition is an “extremist,” according to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

British Guiana: Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) strongly implied from the Senate floor last week that Administration inaction may have been largely responsible for the election of Dr. Cheddi Jagan and his “Communist-dominated People’s Progressive Party” in British Guiana.

As a result of Jagan’s victory, said the legislator, British Guiana potentially represents a more serious threat to the hemisphere than does Fidel Castro. Dodd predicted that, once British Guiana is firmly under Jagan’s control, it “will organize and arm guerilla movements in Brazil, in Dutch Guiana, in Venezuela, in Colombia and in all the surrounding countries.”

Senator Dodd charged the Kennedy Administration with doing nothing to prevent a takeover by Jagan: “. . . this is not a situation that was inherited from a previous Administration. There was ample time for the Administration to take some action. But it did nothing. It did nothing, apart from consulting with our British allies who are, in turn, prepared to do nothing.”

The Connecticut lawmaker said the British Broadcasting Corporation and the Voice of America did “absolutely nothing” to help “expose to the people of British Guiana the Communist nature of the Jagan movement.”

What was even worse, said Dodd, was that a few weeks prior to the election, we gave “our assent to a \$2 million loan by the World Bank” to British Guiana, in an agreement which was signed by Dr. Jagan, even though he had no plenary powers at the time.

DR. JOSEPH MARTIN, President, Taylor University, Upland, Indiana: “HUMAN EVENTS is an excellent source of information and vital news. I congratulate you upon this fine publication.”

Foreign Aid: An Indiana Congressman recently described in stark, cold figures the cost of foreign aid to his constituents. Republican Richard Roudebush disclosed that every man, woman and child in the Sixth District of Indiana pays out \$40 a year for foreign aid.

Moreover, every citizen in that district owes a total of \$823.44 to pay for foreign aid in the past 21 years. (This conclusion is based on \$49 billion the US rendered to its allies between 1940-45; post-war foreign aid totaling \$81 billion and US payments of \$4.9 billion to world banks; and \$12.4 billion carry-over foreign aid funds from last year.)

The Roudebush study was made by government statisticians who computed the total US foreign aid since 1940 as \$130.2 billion.

Only 66 per cent of this total was spent in the United States for machinery, food and raw materials, refuting arguments of foreign aid proponents that 80 to 90 per cent of foreign aid expenditures are made in this country.

Commented Roudebush: "The average family of four is now charged about \$160 annually for foreign aid alone, excluding the heavy taxation for other Federal agencies and the many local state taxes. Economists have warned for many years that it is of critical danger when government imposes a one-third or more levy on its citizens. We are at that point now, and instead of reversing the tide, strident voices are urging higher taxation.

"The results of our extravagant and wasteful foreign aid programs are negligible, to say the least. After 15 years of post-war aid, we find communism advancing on every front despite the billions of dollars. The huge outlay of tax money is also having its bad effects at home where inflation and devaluation of the dollar are most noticeable."

California Story: Significantly in the midst of the Berlin crisis, the southern and most important part of the Golden State this week is holding a big demonstration against communism in Los Angeles. Headed by the Mayor of Los Angeles, 41 mayors of Southern California cities have issued proclamations backing "Anti-Communism Week" (for the week of August 28), featured by a "So. California School of Anti-Communism" in the L. A. Sports Arena. The school lists such speakers as Senator Dodd of Connecticut, Congressman Walter Judd of Minnesota, Herbert Philbrick and Dr. Fred C. Schwarz. On the steering committee are such Hollywood names as Ronald Reagan, George Murphy and Irene Dunne.

The rally carries great political implications in this key state (now pressing New York for primary place in the national political spectrum). For the southern section is the most important part of California—"who wins the South wins the state." It comes at a time when Democratic Governor Edmund "Pat" Brown's power lies in great peril. Leading the "proclamation procession" is Democratic Mayor Sam Yorty, of Los Angeles, who bolted the National Democratic ticket in 1960 and supported Richard Nixon's bid for the Presidency.

Yorty, when he served in Washington as Congressman from a Los Angeles district, was known on Capitol Hill as a strong anti-Communist.

Rockefeller: Republicans have expressed vigorous resentment (see page 585) regarding Nelson Rockefeller's telegrams of disappointment to all GOP members who supported the Saund amendment, which knocked the stuffing out of President Kennedy's \$8.8 billion backdoor-spending plan in the original version of the House-passed foreign aid bill.

Frank T. Bow of Ohio said in the House that "I think it would be well for the Governor to confine himself to messages to the New York State legislators and not become involved in matters pending in the US House of Representatives." In a telegram to Rockefeller, Bow said: "Your position in this matter, in my opinion, eliminates you from consideration in any position of leadership in the Republican party."

H. R. Gross of Iowa wondered whether the Governor "would take the time to straighten out some of this crime in New York and leave us alone down here." August Johansen of Michigan called Rocky's telegram "tragically ill advised," and said he would vote for the Saund amendment "if it is any concern of his."

Capitol Camera: US Communists will form a national youth group by the first week of October, according to top congressional sources.

• *It has been reliably reported in private circles that Congressman Francis Walter (D.-Pa.) is now strongly considering running for another term so that he can continue to serve as chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Walter had previously talked about retiring. Also, many on Capitol Hill believe that Speaker Sam Rayburn, reportedly not in the best of health, will step down after this term. Although moderate-liberal (like Rayburn) Richard Bolling of Missouri would be a fair bet to replace the Texan, friends of Walter may boost him for the Speakership.*

• The New York *Daily News* reports that Edward R. Murrow, director of the US Information Agency, admits that USIA radio station RIAS in West Berlin is broadcasting some opinions "hostile to the Western Allies."

• Capital gag about the VP after his trip to Berlin: "The main street of Berlin will be renamed Unter den Lyndon."

Published weekly at 410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C.
TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS: 5 weeks \$1. Yearly rate \$12.50; 6 months \$6.50; 3 months \$3.50. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

For change of address send old address **EXACTLY AS IT APPEARS** on the envelope of your copy of HUMAN EVENTS and new address (with zone number, if any). **ALLOW US TWO WEEKS** to process new subscriptions and change of address.

Bound Volume indexed, \$20. Only 1956 and 1960 available.

Frank C. Hanighen, *Editor and Publisher* James L. Wick, *Executive Publisher*
Assistant Publishers: W. B. Hicks, Jr. Kenneth W. Ingwolson

Assistant Editors

John R. Benedict	George O. Fowler	Allan H. Ryskind
Svend Petersen	Bruce R. Barr	John R. Moreau
Neil Phelps-Munson	Kenneth E. Thompson	Sherrill A. Backer
Contributing Editors:	Frank Chodorov	Edna Lonigan
Labor Editor: Fred W. Perkins	Production Manager: Robert M. Patterson	

Noted Historian Answers 'No'

Do Mutual Security Agreements, Foreign Aid Help US Defenses?

By Charles Callan Tansill

According to President Kennedy, one of the prime reasons for adopting a long-range program of foreign aid is to build up an effective system of mutual security. He believes that no longer can the United States safely exist as the old fortress America in a world gone mad. We must have Allies in distant lands who will help us meet the challenge of the atomic age and come to our aid in the event of war. But the President failed to tell Americans that down through history the system of mutual security has been a persistent failure in the matter of insuring world peace or of providing an effective means of settling international disputes that have implications of armed conflict.

In Europe after 1870 the system of mutual security was an elaborate one. The Triple Alliance of 1882 comprised Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy. In 1894 France and Russia entered into a military alliance. In 1904 Britain established an *entente* with France which was supplemented three years later by an understanding with Russia concerning the partition of Persia. In 1902 Britain signed a treaty of alliance with Japan for the purpose of protecting the lifelines of the British Empire in the Far East. This system of alliances was far-reaching in scope and impressive from the viewpoint of military strength, but as a means of insuring world peace it was completely ineffective.

We Shun Alliances

As far as the United States was concerned there was no system of mutual security to protect our far-flung frontiers. Throughout the Nineteenth Century American statesmen, following the wise precepts of George Washington, had avoided alliances with foreign powers and America had grown strong and prosperous beyond the fondest dreams of the founding fathers. While European nations staggered under the burden of increasing armaments, the United States, in political isolation, had conserved its resources in men and material wealth until she was the envy of the rest of the world. But in 1898, at the beginning of the Spanish-American War, a political bond with Britain was forged. It was not a formal alliance or even an executive agreement. It was merely a political *understanding* with overtones of intimacy that might mean everything or nothing.

British statesmen had sought this *understanding* with America with the hope that the rapidly growing American Navy might be used to strengthen British policy in areas where British naval supremacy no longer existed. Perhaps some incautious American statesman might be induced to pull from the hot fires of imperialism some political chestnuts too hot for British diplomats to handle. In the Far East these fires were burning brighter each day and Japan had plans for expansion that led to armed conflict, in 1904, with Russia. Even though allied with Japan, Britain extended no naval assistance to her. The time had arrived when Uncle Sam could be used effectively. President Theodore Roosevelt was induced to threaten both France and

Germany with dire consequences if they dared to intervene in the Russo-Japanese War, and American bankers rushed to provide Japan with the financial sinews that enabled her to command victory. And finally, at the close of the war, President Roosevelt set the stage for the peace negotiations at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and helped to shape the terms of the peace treaty.

But the United States derived no advantages from this brief excursion in world politics. Russian and Japanese statesmen, behind President Roosevelt's back, entered into close relations relative to the partition of North China and signed secret treaties in 1907 and 1910 which were a direct challenge to American policy in the Far East. In 1911, when the Department of State was deeply concerned about the impending financial collapse of Persia, an American economist, Morgan Shuster, was sent to that country to be of real assistance in time of dire need. But Russia immediately objected to this mission of assistance and appealed to Britain to help her in thwarting American plans. The British Foreign Office had big plans for exploiting oil-rich lands in southern Persia which could be carried out only with Russian permission. Needless to say, Britain and Russia got together in a squeeze upon Mr. Shuster and he had to leave Persia in a hurry. The American *understanding* with Britain was a *one-way street* which led only to British benefits.

But this British rebuff did not cool the ardor of American statesmen for the political *understanding* that had been arrived at during the Spanish-American War. In 1914, when World War I broke out in Europe, this British tie had big financial overtones. Five hundred thousand articulate Americans invested in Allied bonds to the extent of some two billions of dollars. They had a strong interest in Allied success. These financial ties were strengthened by other ties of a common language and a common political tradition that went back many centuries. In April, 1917, America went to war with Germany and thus insured a British victory with all the rich spoils that would go along with it. But American assistance which guaranteed British success in World War I did not inspire deep feelings of gratitude at No. 10 Downing Street.

On February 16, 1917, shortly after President Wilson had severed diplomatic relations with Germany, the British Foreign Secretary signed a secret treaty with Japan whereby the Nippon Government would receive, at the war's end, the German islands north of the equator. Needless to say, the Department of State was not consulted about the terms of a treaty which would place Japan in possession of islands that would endanger the whole American defense structure in the Pacific. In World War II these islands were conquered by American troops at a staggering cost in American lives. The system of mutual security, even in its simplest terms, has exacted a terrible toll in American lives and treasure.

In the period between two world wars the system of mutual security was still a liability and not an asset. The League of Nations failed to quiet the fears of Japanese statesmen when they watched with growing concern the ominous roll of the Red tide across a large portion of North China with no notes of protest from the usually voluble American Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson. His silence in this matter was surprising in view of the fact that on July 3, 1900, the Department of State under John Hay had issued a famous note which announced to the world that the American Government would support the preservation of the territorial integrity of the Chinese Empire. In 1929, during some military encounters between Chinese and Russian troops in North China, Stimson did send a note to Russia reminding the Soviets that they had signed the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact. The Soviet Foreign Office replied that they knew all about the obligations of the Peace Pact and their troops were not engaged in war. It was obvious to Stimson that he was no match for the Soviets in a war of semantics so he turned his gaze southwards where the Japanese were hastily erecting dykes to hold back the rampant Red tide that was nearing Inner Mongolia. Rebuffed by the Russians he might be able to score a victory in a war of words with the Japanese so he warmed over the pallid phrases of the Kellogg Peace Pact until they rang like a challenge to Japan. Japanese expansion, unlike Russian, was plainly wicked and he would have plunged the United States into war with Japan if President Hoover had not abruptly ordered him to muzzle the dogs of war and release a quiet dove of peace. It was later discovered that this dove was a white-washed eagle that went to roost at Hyde Park.

No Thought of Price

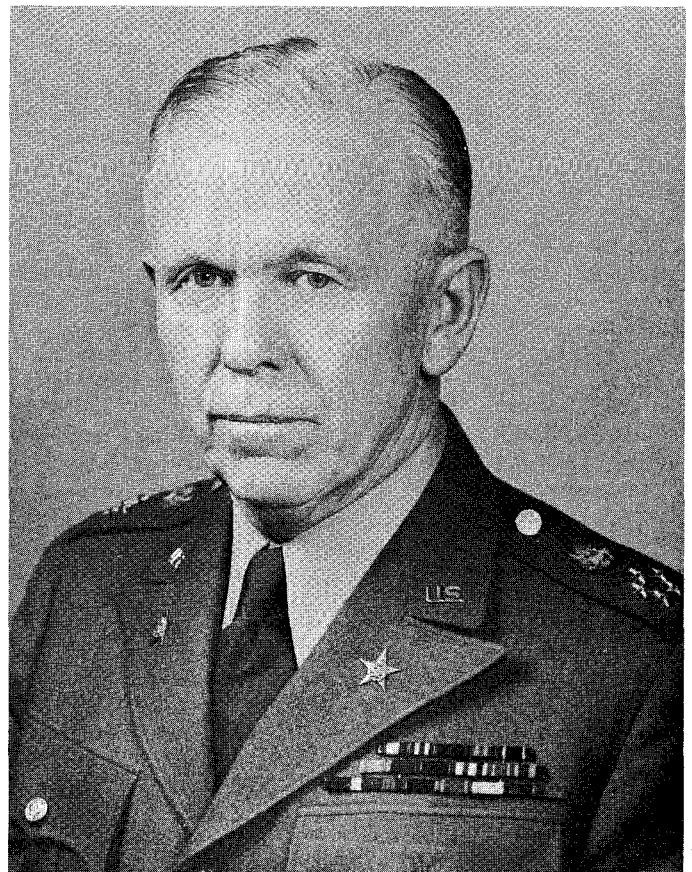
In the summer of 1939 the shadows of war began to darken the European landscape. The elaborate system of mutual security provided by the League of Nations and the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact did little to quiet the fears of approaching conflict. French and British statesmen were fearful of the plans of Hitler to dominate the continent of Europe and they tried desperately to induce Stalin to use his hammer and sickle to slow the rapid pace of Hitler, who was moving with earthquake feet along the uneasy frontiers of Europe. They gave little thought to the price they would have to pay for this assistance, and American statesmen were equally blind. There were only two nations that could hold back the Red tide in its surge over the frontiers of Europe and in the Far East—Germany and Japan. If these two nations were crushed, Soviet military power would be supreme in Europe and in the Far East.

American, British and French statesmen gave little serious thought to this dread contingency, and throughout the summer of 1939 they continued to court Soviet assistance. When Stalin double-crossed these importunate courtiers who had little to give in return for his help and signed on August 23, 1939, his pact with Hitler, it was obvious that the system of mutual security was a dismal failure. But there were some Americans who refused to abandon their long-cherished illusions. In June, 1941, when Hitler turned upon Stalin and launched his swift offensive over the frontiers of Russia, President Franklin Roosevelt revived his belief in mutual security and decided that Russia would be an eminently desirable political partner. He turned his back upon the fact that Stalin was the most grim murderer of modern times with his numerous purges and mass executions. He also knew that in the recent Russo-Finnish War of 1939-40 the League of Nations had expelled Russia from membership because of its repeated barbarities. He was obsessed with the idea

of eliminating Hitler and he chose as his instrument in this regard a Russian dictator whose record since 1917 was a long scroll of deceit, murder and hatred of capitalistic countries.

In order to implement this foreign aid program to Russia President Roosevelt rushed Harry Hopkins to Moscow to arrange a program whereby we sent to Russian ports some eleven billions of economic and military assistance that transformed Russia into a Frankenstein that now threatens to destroy the world. Each morning Americans scan the headlines in the newspapers to learn if the cold war is about to turn into a hot one in which a rain of Russian ballistic missiles will end the story of American democracy in action.

There was little doubt in Washington that this assistance to Russia would make America's entry into World War II inevitable. To make sure this was the case, the President signed, in April, 1941, a secret executive agreement which bound the United States to protect from Japanese attack the British and Dutch Empires in the Far East. This was followed by a freeze upon all Japanese funds in the United States, which made it impossible for Japanese agents to purchase and ship to Japanese ports the oil that was so necessary for Japanese industry and for the armed forces. To Japanese statesmen it seemed evident that there was no recourse but to seize the oil-rich lands of Indonesia. Such an attack would involve the United States in war, and when the news reached Washington in the first week in December, 1941, that Japanese naval units were moving south in the direction of the Dutch possessions, deep anxiety reigned in the White House. If Japanese forces attacked Dutch territory this would mean American involvement in the war. What would the American people think of a Presidential policy which through a secret agreement with Britain and The Netherlands pushed the United States into war that was not wanted and which would change the whole course of American history?



General Marshall



General Taylor

Fortunately for the Roosevelt Administration, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and this news was welcomed at the White House, in spite of the large casualty list and the severe damage inflicted upon the American fleet. Tension in the Pentagon had been building up for several days. At a Congressional hearing the Chief of Staff, General George C. Marshall, testified that he could remember nothing of the epic days of December 6-7, 1941. The Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, was excused from the hearings because of a severe indisposition. On the morning of Pearl Harbor, December 7, General Marshall had taken a horseback ride which must have shaken him up badly because, when he arrived at his office at 11:20 A.M., he was quite confused about sending a message of warning to Admiral Kimmel and General Short at Honolulu. He had available on his desk a scrambler telephone or the Navy or FBI wireless to Hawaii but he broke standard Army regulations about the use of multiple means to transmit important messages, and for some strange reason sent the warning by RCA commercial and did not give it a priority rating. Needless to say, the warning message arrived too late.

Mutual security can sometimes mean mutual destruction. This fact was clearly indicated in the so-called Korean War. It was a conflict which superior American air power could have brought to an early, successful close by destroying the bridges over the Yalu River and the enemy supply bases in Manchuria. But, thanks to United States misdirection, the war was fought along lines that made victory impossible. According to statements made by Generals MacArthur, Ridgeway and Mark Clark, it was a war that America was not allowed to win. In fact, it is certainly the only war that America has ever lost.

Since the debacle in Korea the United States has been flirting with fate in Europe by depending on NATO as a safe shield against Russian attack. When NATO was organized in 1949 it was assumed that it would control a military force of 90 divisions. Since

that time the commanders of NATO have trimmed these figures, and in 1958 General Norstad finally settled for 30 divisions. At present, along the important line from Denmark to Switzerland, there are merely 21 divisions on paper as opposed to some 70 Russian divisions, a ratio of more than three to one.

Decline of European Defenses

This is another case of fraudulent mutual security. In 1949 it was assumed that, since Russia was perfecting an atomic bomb for early use, it would not be possible for America alone to protect the West. Europe would have to increase her armaments. But what has Europe done to meet this challenge? In 1928, in time of peace, the principal countries of Europe had no difficulty in raising formidable armies. In that year the Benelux countries raised 18 divisions, Britain 23 divisions, France 30 divisions and Germany 10 divisions. In 1959 the divisions raised by the Benelux countries dropped to 4, Britain's contingent fell to 3, France to 2 and Germany to 7 divisions. Europe with a population of 240 millions is content to allow its defense to depend upon an American population of some 180 millions, and moreover, Europe is enjoying an unparalleled industrial boom.

It is apparent that it is a dangerous fallacy to regard NATO as a shield of Europe and it is equally fallacious to think that foreign aid and American giveaway programs have really strengthened our military position in Europe. Since 1945 the United States has poured out in foreign military aid the huge sum of 35 billions of dollars. In Europe this has merely produced a "shield" of 16 divisions in NATO. There is some wishful thinking to the effect that our European allies are now ready in a major manner to increase their NATO divisions. Is there any likelihood of this increase, in view of the fact that France is now faced with serious trouble in Tunisia as well as in Algeria? Britain is in a serious economic plight and is not in a position to increase the number of her divisions in NATO.

The President's recent message to Congress, with its fervid plea for large foreign aid appropriations over a period of five years, is based upon the obvious fallacy that such aid will contribute to our national defense. War with Russia will be along the frontiers of Europe—not in Latin America, the Near East or in the Far East. None of the billions we are preparing to spend on "operation futility" will help us in this conflict. War will come whenever Russia thinks the time is opportune and its military forces are sufficient to crush America. Sending further divisions to Europe to increase American ground strength is folly in the extreme. They will merely weaken fortress America. In this regard President Eisenhower remarked at a press conference on March 11, 1959:

"We certainly are not going to fight a ground war in Europe. What good would it do to send a few more thousands or indeed a few divisions of troops to Europe to be wiped out by Russia's vast armies and nuclear weapons at the Kremlin's pleasure? Why in the world would we dream of fighting a ground war?"

But President Kennedy is having just such a dream. On July 30 there was a long press statement to the effect that the White House Military Adviser, General Maxwell Taylor, is pressing the President to build up the ground forces of the Army and send some more divisions to Europe to face Russia along the Denmark-Switzerland line. In former years the Joint Chiefs of Staff had always expressed the opinion that only by resort to nuclear warfare would the United States have

any chance for victory in a war with Russia. General Taylor never accepted this opinion and now, as Kennedy's Military Adviser, he states quite strongly this belief that America would be a match for Russia in conventional warfare if we will increase our ground strength. He is convinced that Russian military power has been greatly exaggerated:

"Large numbers of Red divisions could not be sustained in Germany. Many are needed at home and supply lines to the front are limited. And finally, each Western division is more powerful than a Soviet division. If trouble came in January the Soviets could bring perhaps 50 small divisions to bear in Germany against about 35 large Western divisions."

When General Taylor was Chief of Staff, 1955-59, he was firmly told each year that his concept of modern war was false. It was pointed out to him that along the line from Denmark to Switzerland, NATO could furnish only 21 divisions against a Russian force of some 70 divisions. According to a Pentagon intelligence report published recently, the Russian standing army:

"... consists of about 170 line divisions totaling approximately 2,500,000 men. Within the first month of a war under full mobilization, the Soviet Army can be 300 divisions strong. Also, the Soviets have made significant strides in increased firepower. The number of tank and mechanized divisions in the Soviet Army has grown so rapidly that we are required to assume that the tremendous bulk of the Soviet Army will be fully mechanized. The present 170 divisions and the M-plus-30 total of 300 divisions with 70,000 tanks are certainly impressive."

Under the influence of General Taylor, President Kennedy is thinking seriously of sending further American divisions to Europe in order to augment ground forces that can serve as a challenge to Russian divisions in conventional warfare. And this in the face of superior Russian forces with superior weapons! The way the American Army deteriorated under the neglect of President Eisenhower is clearly indicated by Brigadier General Lawrence J. Lincoln, who is now chief of the Army's modernization program:

"Russia's army is more modern than this country's in the sense that it has at least four times as many of the most up-to-date weapons. Russia excels in some fields, and in practically all areas has a greater supply of modern weapons. In some respects the Russian army is more modern than the US Army. The Soviets equip their army very rapidly with their most modern items. We are just slower at it."

If the Russians have considerably larger ground forces which are more mobile and better armed than ours, it is difficult to see how the United States could hope to win in conventional warfare. Moreover, their air force has in recent months gained significant strength through the development of new models of fighter planes and bombers that were revealed to the world in the impressive military show in Moscow last July 9. The real deterrent force the United States has had in the last decade has been the Strategic Air Command. But many of our planes are becoming obsolescent, and General Thomas Power has pressed strongly for a new type of bomber—the B-70. President Eisenhower was not impressed with the pleas of General Power, and the funds that Congress had appropriated for the research program necessary for the production of this new plane were impounded. On March 13 President Kennedy announced that plans for the B-70 had been tabled. Although Congress voted funds for B-70 bomber development within the past few weeks, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara even more recently re-affirmed the Administration's policy by saying the money would be unspent.

As we face the possibility of war with Russia it is asserted by some military experts, like Major Alexander P. de Seversky, that Soviet Russia, with her arsenal of intermediate and intercontinental ballistic missiles, could seriously damage our overseas bases and hold Europe as a hostage. In this event only fortress America has any chance for survival. The billions that President Kennedy wishes to give away in foreign aid will not contribute in any effective manner to American military strength against Russia. This vast sum will produce no new bombers like the B-70, no new or improved fighter planes, and no missiles and rockets. It is decidedly misleading to assert that these billions in foreign aid will add to our mutual security. Our national survival depends entirely upon our own military strength and not upon any token assistance from nations in Europe that are trembling in fear of an incendiary fate from Soviet bombs and missiles. World opinion, which we have been so ardently courting for more than a decade, will not have the slightest deterrent effect upon any plans of Khrushchev to "bury" the United States.

We Weaken the Fortress

Billions thrown away in foreign aid when America needs every cent she has for her own effective armament is a way to invite national disaster. The advocates of foreign aid are gambling with the destiny of America when they are busily siphoning off America's resources at a time of extreme national peril. The stark dangers attending the program of the Kennedy Administration in this matter of foreign aid are indicated with precision and vigor by Major de Seversky in his new book with its ominous title—*America Too Young to Die!*

"We were told time and again that the very life of America depends on the strength of our Allies. This put the West at a terrific disadvantage. America is undermining its economy by spending billions on unrealistic surface forces for its allies; every penny spent on military forces abroad means that much less for the real strength of our deterrent power—our aerospace force, the sword of Damocles that alone can guarantee them survival. It is a cardinal rule of warfare that the first requisite of a successful offensive is to make the base of operations inviolate. Our base of operations is the American heartland. Supporting our allied conventional forces at the expense of our primary striking force is a great strategic error."

There is really no need to worry about a five year program of foreign aid without the annual check on appropriations by Congress. War with Russia will come long before the end of that period. If, because of the financial drain upon our Treasury caused by foreign aid, we have neglected the optimum use of the American heartland as a base of operations against Russia, our chances for national survival are very slim. It is high time for ardent Americans to discard the myth of mutual security. The fate of the West will depend upon a fortress America invulnerable to successful attack by any foe and possessed of a retaliatory power that could rain destruction upon the lands of any dictator who dared to challenge American military might.

The author of this article, Dr. Charles Callan Tansill, is professor emeritus of diplomatic history at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. He has written 10 books on foreign policy, and in 1958 he was awarded the William Volker Fund Prize of \$15,000 for his outstanding works in the field of American diplomatic history.

REPRINTS of this section available; single copy 20 cents; 10 for \$1; 25 for \$2; 100 for \$5; 500 for \$20; 1,000 for \$30. Order by section number and date of issue.



CONGRESSMAN SCHERER

Congressman Gordon Scherer of Cincinnati recently told HUMAN EVENTS journalism students that seven years ago, when he was assigned to the House Un-American Activities Committee, the members of the Committee almost never got an invitation to speak on a college campus. Congressmen on the Committee were not looked upon as respectable citizens by college faculty members.

Today, Committee members are flooded with college invitations. Each gets many more invitations than he can accept; since there are nine members of the Committee, that adds up to a lot of college audiences wanting House Un-American Activities speakers.

No wonder Communists and soft-on-communism liberals lose their sanity at the mere mention of HUAC. They have good reason.

HUMAN EVENTS

... COMMENTARY ...

Vol. XVIII, No. 35 — Section III

September 1, 1961

Liberals Worried in Washington State

LIBERALS are genuinely worried about the growth of conservatism and anti-communism in one of the states where they thought they had a large measure of control. That state is Washington.

Evidence of this is an article—"New Right in Action"—in the *Nation* of July 29. The authors are University of Washington political scientist Alex Gottfried and his wife Sue Davidson.

Gottfried and Davidson are genuinely alarmed because a phalanx of 92 college professors was largely unsuccessful in fighting "Communism on the Map."

What has been the conservative accomplishment in the State of Washington?

Well, according to Gottfried and Davidson, Seattle public school children of ages five and six will be "instructed in the meaning of the pledge of allegiance" to the flag. "Instruction in communism's peril and pitfalls will begin in the fifth grade, with awareness of the Red threat *presumably dominating studies* from there on." (italics supplied)

Seattle itself has formed an American Leadership Council, which Representative Thomas M. Pelly (R.-Wash.) credits with starting a program for "citizenship education and our responsibilities as citizens."

Representative Pelly gives much of the credit for Seattle's awakening to the Communist menace to Navy Captain Kenneth J. Sanger, commandant of the Sand Point Naval Air Station in Seattle. In the *Congressional Record* of March 30, Representative Pelly said Captain Sanger provided "inspirational leadership in exposing the Communist conspiracy and its tactics by his activities in establishing positive and constructive programs for the development of community leadership."

The Washington State Congressman contrasted Captain Sanger's record with military men in general, who are "frequently subject to criticism because of lack of community interest" and "failure to participate in civic affairs."



CAPTAIN SANGER

The liberals sought to discredit Sanger, much like the attack on Major General Edwin A. Walker in Germany, but the onslaught failed. Captain Sanger has earned much civic praise, and news of his transfer this fall to Washington, D. C., has been greeted with sincere regret.

Captain Sanger's activities (in addition to aiding in the establishment of Seattle's American Leadership Council, he gave programs on Americanism and anti-communism for Seattle junior and senior high school students and lectured widely to civic groups) were noted in the now-famous Fulbright memorandum to the White House and Department of Defense. It was one of about a dozen "instances of education and propaganda activities of military personnel" documented in the Arkansas Democrat's memorandum.

Washington's conservatism and anti-communism were stirred up, say Gottfried and Davidson, by two films upon which liberals have waged unceasing attacks—"Operation Abolition" and "Communism on the Map." The two *Nation* contributors sorrowfully report that there was no damage to the reputations of the Boeing Airplane Company and Puget Sound Power and Light Company for their promotion and circulation of the films.

Forsaking Free China?

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

ALL THE WORLD knows by now that America's staunchest Far East ally, Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa, is shaken by Washington's abrupt change of policy *vis-a-vis* admitting Red China to the UN and recognizing Communist Outer Mongolia.

What is not yet known, except to a top circle of "inside" diplomats, is the deep shock experienced by the Formosan government over what it considers a breach of honor and faith by the Kennedy Administration, a breach unprecedented in the long and honorable history of the United States.

The betrayal, as the Nationalist Chinese see it, began in the form of a private letter from President Kennedy to President Chiang Kai-shek, secretly delivered by Vice President Lyndon Johnson during his visit to Taipei on May 14-15.

President Kennedy's letter assured Chiang that the United States would maintain the continuity of its Far East policy. Specifically, the letter promised that the United States would continue its firm opposition to the admittance of Red China to the United Nations.

To formalize President Kennedy's private assurance and to demonstrate to the world that the United States and Formosa see eye to eye on the key question in Far Eastern affairs, Vice President Johnson and President Chiang issued this joint communique:

"The Vice President, on behalf of President Kennedy, assured President Chiang that the United States means to stand with her allies in the Asian area; the United States has no intention of recognizing the Peiping regime; the United States opposes seating the Peiping regime in the United Nations and regards it as important that the position of the Republic of China in the United Nations should be maintained."

Nothing could be clearer than the double pledge of United States opposition to seating Red China in the United Nations, first in the President's private letter to Chiang and then in the joint public communique.

Yet at the very time these pledges were being made, the Kennedy Administration was perfecting its so-called two-China policy; the proposal that Red China be admitted to the UN's General Assembly while "permitting" Nationalist China to keep its seat in the UN's Security Council.

But this was not all. During his stay in Taipei, Vice President Johnson held a five-hour discussion with President Chiang. In the course of the interchanges, Johnson specifically promised Chiang that the United States would under no circumstances take

any steps toward diplomatic recognition of Communist Outer Mongolia.

Yet during this very conversation, American State Department officials were working out the details of diplomatic recognition with their opposite numbers in the Outer Mongolian capital city of Ulan Bator.

Washington's change in Far East policy in the face of specific promises to the contrary has had a shattering effect on the Chiang regime. But from all advance indications the United States will have to pay a heavy price for the amateur Machiavellianism of the Kennedy Administration.

My Far East correspondent thus sums up reactions in his area:

"Many friends of the United States in Asia are seriously disturbed and wondering what the United States is trying to do. United States prestige here has already sunk to an all-time low. The latest Washington maneuvers will hurt not only free China but the United States much more than most people realize.

"The United States has precious few friends left here already and cannot afford to antagonize its friend and ally, Nationalist China. The United States seems to have forfeited its strong leadership inside and outside the United Nations.

"Already Japan is losing no time in negotiating with Outer Mongolia in order to establish diplomatic relations. What is there now to prevent other nations from negotiating to recognize North Korea, North Vietnam and East Germany?"

What, indeed, after our own example?

INTERESTED IN THE WEATHER AGAIN



REPRINTS of this section available: single copy 20c; 10 for \$1; 25 for \$2; 100 for \$5; 500 for \$20; 1,000 for \$30. Order by section number and date of issue.

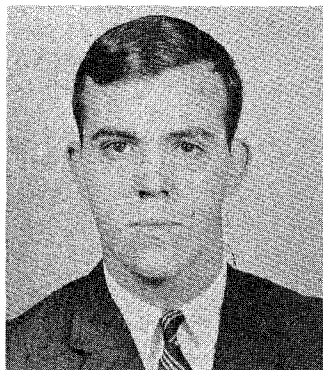
TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS: 5 weeks \$1. Yearly rate \$12.50; 6 months \$6.50. After you have read each section of HUMAN EVENTS, put it in an envelope and mail it to someone else who will value its contents.

Basic Growthmanship

EVEN A NEW FRONTIERSMAN may show capacity for growth. One of JFK's unofficial economic advisers is Paul Samuelson, professor of economics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Michael Uhlmann, vice chairman of the Yale *Daily News*, in Washington this summer for the HUMAN EVENTS School of Journalism, has been researching the several editions of Samuelson's text, "*Economics: An Introductory Analysis*."

In the quotations from the textbook below, HUMAN EVENTS has supplied the capital letters used in the percentage figures.



UHLMANN

1st edition, 1948: "If price increases could be held down to, say, less than FIVE per cent per year, such a mild steady inflation need not cause too great concern"

2nd edition, published in 1951, reprints the above sentence without change. But note succeeding revisions as the years go by:

3rd edition, 1955: "If price increases could be held down to, say, less than THREE per cent per year, such a mild steady inflation need not cause too great concern"

4th edition, 1958: "If price increases could be held down to, say, TWO per cent per year, such a mild steady inflation need not cause too great concern"

5th edition, 1961: "Price increases that could be held down BELOW TWO per cent per year are one thing. But"

Samuelson on NBC's *Meet the Press*, March 5, 1961: "... if we can hold things down so that the official index of prices goes up by no more than ONE AND ONE HALF OR TWO per cent, I shall be very content."

All economic history shows that as soon as inflation becomes accepted government policy, it is impossible to hold it to any specified percentage. Speculation—the anticipation of price rises—will grow each year—and in geometric, not arithmetic, proportions.

Inflation, instead of creeping as planned, starts galloping.

Many high school students have the common sense to grasp this point—which seems not to be even yet fully understood by Samuelson who, by the way, is the author of the economics textbook with the largest sale of all in US high schools. Perhaps the authorities who select economics textbooks need common sense, too. For it is common sense, not high IQ, which is the test of mature judgment.

Area of Freedom Reduced

Carried to its ultimate conclusion, every proposal of the liberals must inevitably reduce the area of free choice remaining to the individual, and if we are not competent to spend our own money, to educate our own children, to make our own selection of entertainment on television and radio, then does it not follow that at some later date we will be judged incompetent to make a proper choice in the selection of our government officials?

—Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.)

Papa Kennedy Meets a Crisis

For a long time we have respected the judgment and the poise of the President's father, Joseph P. Kennedy. Recent events have strengthened that esteem.

The other day a Hollywood spokesman for Frank Sinatra and his clan announced that Sinatra, Janet Leigh, the Dean Martins and the Peter Lawfords were heading for Mr. Kennedy's Riviera villa to pay him a 10-day visit. Did Mr. Kennedy offer to negotiate? He did not.

When the word was relayed to him, he said that he'd be pleased if they came to see him, but they'd have to go to a hotel, because he didn't have room to put them up.

Mr. Kennedy showed he could deal with a crisis tactfully, firmly, promptly, and that he knows how to look after his own interests. We hope son Jack didn't miss the point.

—From the Omaha Evening World-Herald

Grass Roots Changes Votes

An article in the *Wall Street Journal* (8/11/61) describes the strong right-wing pressures coming from the grass roots, saying that the heavy mail to Congressmen is having a profound effect upon the voting attitudes of members of Congress.

As evidence, the *Wall Street Journal* mentions that Senators Margaret Smith of Maine, Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, and Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania all voted against the Kennedy housing bill—adding that this was "the first vote against a housing measure that any of them had cast during long Congressional careers."

A Do-It-Yourself Story

A do-it-yourself project of note is underway in San Bruno, in the suburbs of San Francisco. San Bruno has overcrowded schools but can't vote more bonds because the legal limit has been reached.

And so, while despairing voices are raised in Washington and elsewhere that only the Federal government can solve the country's educational problems, the citizens of San Bruno have formed a committee to raise \$100,000 by private subscriptions to build six new classrooms at two schools.

—From the New York World-Telegram and Sun

A Country Club Plan For Public Housing

From the Chicago Tribune

The Chicago Housing Authority, which operates the tax subsidized public housing projects, now proposes to supply its tenants with free recreational facilities, including swimming pools. The CHA board has instructed its staff, headed by Alvin E. Rose, executive director, to prepare a study of sports and play facilities costing a million dollars, as a starter.

The idea was put forward by Charles Swibel, a board member, who explained he was moved by President Kennedy's recent appeal for more emphasis on physical fitness of young people. He conceded that several years ago the Federal Public Housing Administration vetoed expenditure of housing funds for recreation, but he believed the "climate of thinking" in Washington has changed since Kennedy became President.

Director Rose was enthusiastic, saying he knew just where to put the first swimming pool. The plan calls for hiring a physical education director for each of the 12 district CHA offices, who would organize athletic teams and supervise activities designed especially for teen-agers.

For many years this newspaper has promoted Golden Gloves, Silver Skates, and other sports competitions among young people, but we have strong doubts that the taxpayer should be called upon to support such programs through the public authority set up to provide housing for low income families. Chicago has a park system which operates extensive recreational facilities and if these are to be expanded, the park district should do it. The budget of the park district for the current year is 54 million dollars.

Public housing is exempt from real estate taxes, but a small percentage of rents collected is turned over to the local taxing bodies in lieu of taxes. While these payments are higher than the tax bills on the same properties before CHA acquired them, the CHA is paying only a fraction of the amount which would be levied against private owners of its vast properties. If the CHA has money to spare, it should increase its payments and make more funds available for schools, police and fire protection, and other city services.

If this crazy plan is adopted there is no telling what else will be sought to make the lives of the tenants more enjoyable at taxpayers' expense.

Socialism: Our No. 1 Export

To be very blunt, the approval of the Kennedy Administration's full foreign aid program will convert the United States into the world's principal exporter of socialism. President Kennedy doesn't call it socialism; he calls it "democratic social revolution." But it depends for its philosophy not upon the tradition that has made America succeed but upon the very doctrines that are menacing the Western civilization.

—Cincinnati Enquirer

Remarkable Prophecy

From Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, published 126 years ago: "There are at the present time two great nations in the world, which started from different points, but seem to tend toward the same end. I allude to the Russians and the Americans

"The conquests of the American are therefore gained by the plowshare; those of the Russian by the sword. The Anglo-American relies upon personal interest to accomplish his ends and give free scope to the unguided strength and common sense of the people; the Russian centers all the authority of society in a single arm. The principal instrument of the former is freedom; of the latter, servitude. Their starting point is different and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe."

Congressman Quie's Taped Interview—\$7

Albert Quie, third-term Republican Congressman from Minnesota's First Congressional District, is the guest on this week's Congressional Interview. Mr. Quie discusses the Administration's highly controversial proposals for Federal aid to education, which are expected to be revived during this session of Congress. This interview sheds important light on the serious effects which these measures would have on both public and private education.



This 12½-minute tape-recorded interview is the twenty-fifth in the 1961 series of HUMAN EVENTS CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW.

The price for single interviews is \$7. If you enter an order for one interview a month the price is \$6, one a week \$5; \$1 is refunded for each tape returned.

Other interviews which you may wish to have are listed below. They are the first twenty-four weekly interviews in the 1961 series:

- QUIE
1. John H. Rousselot (R.-Calif.)
 2. John M. Ashbrook (R.-Ohio)
 3. William Jennings Bryan Dorn (D.-S.C.)
 4. Peter A. Garland (R.-Maine)
 5. Bruce Alger (R.-Texas)
 6. Donald C. Bruce (R.-Ind.)
 7. Harold R. Collier (R.-Ill.)
 8. Richard H. Poff (R.-Va.)
 9. Edward J. Derwinski (R.-Ill.)
 10. Henry C. Schadeberg (R.-Wisc.)
 11. John J. Rhodes (R.-Ariz.)
 12. Edgar W. Hiestand (R.-Calif.)
 13. Thomas M. Pelly (R.-Wash.)
 14. John Bell Williams (D.-Miss.)
 15. James F. Battin (R.-Mont.)
 16. Peter H. Dominick (R.-Colo.)
 17. Frank J. Becker (R.-N.Y.)
 18. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.)
 19. Joel T. Broyhill (R.-Va.)
 20. Durward G. Hall (R.-Mo.)
 21. Gordon H. Scherer (R.-Ohio)
 22. Charles R. Jonas (R.-N.C.)
 23. Robert R. Barry (R.-N.Y.)
 24. James L. Whitten (D.-Miss.)

The 12½-minute length of these interviews makes them ideal for a 15-minute radio program. Many serve as the weekly highlight of organization meetings.

Help your organization and your community to **BE INFORMED ON TIME**. Write now for HUMAN EVENTS CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW.

410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C.

Union Featherbedding

By EDWIN McDOWELL

Editorial Writer, *Arizona Republic*

ONE SUNDAY EVENING last January, an estimated one thousand Detroiters, anteing up from \$1 to \$5 each, attended an annual program entitled the *Silent Record Concert and Recording Session*.

Co-sponsored by Hush Records and the Cass Theatre, the performances included a 60-piece orchestra not playing, a 65-voice chorus not singing, and, as an added treat, the Anvil Chorus played by 30 musicians using rubber mallets. In addition, a local critic and author presented a reading titled "Famous Pauses From Dramatic Literature," a popular disc jockey discussed things left unsaid by great philosophers, and a Ford Motor Co. attorney spoke on legal lapses.

Ridiculous, readers might say, to pay hard-earned money and get nothing, except silence, in return. And indeed they are right (although it is only fair to point out that the proceeds from the silent symphony went to the University of Detroit chorus). But each year American industry (and, ultimately, the consumer) pays an estimated \$2 billion for exactly the same return—nothing. This is made possible through union "make-work" practices, called featherbedding, wherein—unlike in the above mentioned zany show—the "donors" have absolutely no say in the matter.

Featherbedding, as Frank Chodorov pointed out ("Featherbedding: Robbery Made Legal," HUMAN EVENTS, April 1, 1959), consists of practices by which workers manage to get paid for not working, or for performing less work than can reasonably be expected of them. Sumner Slichter, late professor of economics at Harvard, listed the following nine categories as examples of featherbedding:

Limiting the amount produced; controlling speed; controlling quality; requiring time consuming work methods; requiring unnecessary work or the re-doing of work; requiring a particular number of employees to do a given job; requiring the assignment of certain tasks to a particular union; forbidding employees or supervisors to perform work assigned to the union, and retarding the introduction of machinery.

Among the thousands of examples of featherbedding practices, the following are illustrative:

- In a Philadelphia plant, one fork-lift crew hauls finished products and returns empty, another crew hauls parts and returns empty; both could haul twice as much if they mixed the jobs.

- In San Francisco, Teamsters helpers collect a total of about \$1,000 a day for watching fork-lifts unload trucks for them.

- In New York, four "standby" musicians drew about \$70 a performance for merely listening to the two pianists

who actually played the accompaniment to Broadway's "Billy Barnes Revue."

- During a New York production of "Major Barbara," actor Charles Laughton exited playing a trombone; the music, from a recording of a Salvation Army Band, continued for about a minute after he left the stage. Because of the musicians union's insistence that four "standbys" be hired whenever recordings are used in a play, this scene cost the producers \$628.51 a week—the salaries of the four "standby" musicians. (For a discussion of featherbedding in a comparable industry, see Lee Edward's "Labor and the Broadcasting Industry," HUMAN EVENTS, August 26, 1959.)

- In Atlanta, an operating engineer gets \$20 a day for just starting and stopping an air compressor a few times a day, a paint sprayer is paid \$6.30 an hour as opposed to \$3.15 for a brush painter, and "ironworkers" (whom contractors are required to hire) are paid \$3.35 to unload rods, a simple manual chore which usually warrants \$1.82½.

- Railroads, which alone pay \$500 million annually for these "make-work" practices, are often forced to pay workers a day's wages for throwing a switch, or a bonus day for slightly irregular hours. (See Frank Chodorov's "Bleeding the Railroads," HUMAN EVENTS, July 1, 1959.)

- At G.E.'s Schenectady plant, small groups of chippers and flame gaugers called an unsuccessful strike when they were instructed by management to squirt oil on castings; squirting oil from a can, the workers charged through their local unions, was outside the jurisdiction of their jobs.

- In one New England plant, four union stewards had been paid for five years for nothing more than wandering around the plant "settling grievances." In fairness to the unions, however, in this instance the idea of the wandering stewards originated with the former owners in an attempt to buy off union pressure for wage increases and benefits. (Incidentally, a National Industrial Conference Board report found that 90 of 96 companies queried paid employees for time spent on union business.)

FEATHERBEDDING, an organized method of getting something for nothing, is not a recent phenomenon. As a *Life* editorial wisely observed, it "is a throwback to the protectionism of medieval guilds." And while it has been with us for many years in various disguises, during the past half century, featherbedding activities, originally confined chiefly to the craft unions, began spreading throughout the mass industries until today there are nearly 1.7 million workers involved in strikes or contract negotiations where work rules are a major issue.

The term featherbedding dates back to around 1900, where, according to legend, an exasperated

Rock Island trainmaster—tired of hearing caboose crews gripe about the cornhusk and burlap mattresses they had to sleep on—snarled: “What the hell do you brakemen want—feather beds?” Whether or not the tale is true, recent research has revealed that caboosemen now sleep on pads compounded of cotton batting, cotton duck, tow, moss, coil spring, cotton sheathing, and an artificial leather cover—in short, everything but feathers.

Nor are make-work practices unique with America; they also abound in Europe (where the British, with their penchant for understatement, refer to featherbedding as “employment redundancy”) and are reportedly often disguised behind the Iron Curtain to create the illusion of full employment. In Castro’s Cuba, featherbedding has taken a somewhat different form. Said NBC’s Lee Hall, during a telecast entitled “Castro’s Year of Power,” the lush Havana hotels and expensive clubs “have been forced to stay open so as not to extend Cuba’s already mushrooming unemployment. Nightclubs which might be almost empty during the week continue to stage lavish floorshows and extravagant entertainment.”

There are many reasons, of course, for widespread featherbedding practices, but the bulk of the blame must be placed squarely on the shoulders of those New Deal rulings which enabled labor to slip a stranglehold around the jugular vein of America’s economy. The Norris-LaGuardia Act, which declared a public policy in favor of the unions and made possible their flagrant abuse of power, and the National Labor Relations Act, which through its NLRB interpretations, largely negated Taft-Hartley (and, as NYU’s famed law professor Sylvester Petro said, even today makes it almost impossible “for an employer to get injunctive relief unless there is violence that amounts to civil insurrection”), are perhaps the two most infamous examples. This legislation, combined with the exigencies—real or imagined—of the national defense effort, provided labor unions with the license for making unwarranted and uneconomical demands; continued government paternalism, particularly in condoning compulsory unionism, insured labor unions that these demands would be met. (Under the provisions of the Clayton Act, labor unions are exempted from anti-trust restrictions, except when they act in concert with an employer.)

MANAGEMENT, too, must share part of the blame for condoning featherbedding practices. As Dr. George Hildenbrand, research economist for the University of California’s Institute of Industrial Relations, correctly points out: “Management has been lax on work rules in years past because they’ve been able to pass along to the consuming public any increased costs due to inefficient working procedures.” Harvard economist Edward H. Chamberlin, writing in *The Public Stake in Union Power*, mentions that monopoly power in the hands of labor—which gives teeth to featherbedding demands—is easily covered up, buried in the cost of structure and forgotten; the wage bill is paid immediately by the employer and only finally and indirectly by the public.

Some unions, particularly craft unions, have been successful in imposing uneconomic regulations be-

cause the industries—which sell against a time deadline—are unusually vulnerable to real or threatened union power. The restrictions, reminded G.E. labor economist Herbert R. Northrup, are usually negotiated little by little, craft by craft. And since no restriction by itself adds a significant cost to the end product, the employers have been reluctant to spend much money—on the strike they know to be inevitable—to avoid any particular one.

Now, however, this is no longer the case, says Dr. Hildenbrand. “Tighter money has raised industry’s borrowing costs, and increased foreign competition for both domestic and export markets has put management under a price ceiling whereby they must absorb most of these increased costs. As a result, management is responding by resisting further union encroachment on managerial functions, and is seeking to recapture, or at least loosen up, many existing work rules they have bargained away to the unions in the past.”

This is not to imply that all, or even a majority, of labor union members are interested only in avoiding work. I am a former Teamster truck driver, and would be among the first to deny such a charge. Many individual labor union members are hard working and conscientious, and, at least insofar as they understand them, are generally sympathetic to the aims of management.

On the other hand, many labor leaders, out only to feather their own nests without caring at whose expense, condone and encourage economic sloth, and are not bothered one whit by the systematic usurpation of management rights. For instance, Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, while counsel for the United Steelworkers, candidly stated that in his opinion management has no reserved rights, except those which it can preserve during labor-management bargaining sessions.

According to a survey by the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., a private reporting service, about 60% of union contracts have a statement of management rights, including the right to: close a facility, relocate or build a new one, institute technological changes, issue company rules, and determine the number of workers. (These management prerogatives are incorporated in at least 80% of the contracts in textile, transportation, equipment, leather, rubber, stone, fabricated metals, furniture, finance, and clay and glass industries. In communications, maritime and construction industries, these rights appear in less than 20% of the contracts.)

Among the many management rights restricted in union contracts are: contracting of work, purchase or use of certain materials, changes in production methods, use of supervisors, determining the size of the work force, work load and speed of operations, instituting technological changes and abolishing jobs.

The above prerogatives are, of course, dependent on whim, expediency, and the many other variables which influence any settlement. For instance, one employer agreed with the union to continue producing the same products at a particular plant unless it became economically necessary to transfer the production to some other plant. In that event, the

union would be allowed 60 days in which to review the action. If, at the end of that time, no agreement were reached, the union would then be free to strike or the employer would be free to shut down.

THE CHIEF REASON for the growing concern over featherbedding is the extra cost these practices add to our total bill. But, as Professor Jules Backman explained in *Nation's Business*, and as we shall examine, there are other equally valid reasons for concern.

Whenever the charge of featherbedding is raised, the unions point out that labor productivity and efficiency have constantly increased over the years. Completely overlooked or ignored in that misleading statement is the fact that increased productivity is almost entirely the result of capital investment in ever-more productive machinery. Moreover, the statement ignores studies which show that workers' efficiency, instead of increasing through the years, has steadily declined. (One study in particular, by the University of Michigan, found that the efficiency of US construction workers dropped 10-20% during the job-lean years from 1930-1956.)

The cost of featherbedding practices—written or tacit, legal or illegal—cannot be measured solely in dollars and cents, but must also be measured in the number of jobs which they deny or dry up. Instead of providing additional employment (except temporarily in some industries) as the unions boast, featherbedding—which raises costs and renders some companies uncompetitive—actually diminishes the number of job opportunities.

In addition, featherbedding retards worker mobility, necessary for realizing the full benefit of our rapidly-changing technology. By freezing workers in obsolete, antiquated, non-productive pursuits, contends Professor Backman, unions deny technological gains both to their members and to newly-emerging industries. In an economy which now spends about \$10 billion annually for research and development (about 13 times greater than 25 years ago), this constitutes a critical problem.

"The more rapid the rate of research and discovery," writes Dr. Backman, "the more important it becomes to make changes. New labor skills will be required. These, in turn, will carry higher rewards for the particular workers required. It should also be kept in mind that, as a result of the low birth rate in the '30's, we face severe labor shortages in the age groups 25 to 44 for the next decade. We tend to lose sight of this longer-term problem in our preoccupation with immediate problems of unemployment."

It is the unions' opposition to automation—the introduction of labor-saving machinery—which, as author Chodorov has mentioned, is the most important work-restricting scheme. Because it momentarily dries up jobs (but, in the long run, provides more and easier jobs), automation is the union czar's principal *bete noire*. Moreover, automation is often suspected as the root cause behind union violence.

In January of 1960, for instance, dynamiters wrecked ten trucks used to deliver papers of two struck dailies in Portland, Oregon. One of the men

arrested, charged with hiring four others to set off the dynamite blasts, was a member of the negotiating committee of the union which called the strike against the *Oregonian* and the *Oregon Journal*.

One of the principal issues in the strike was a new automated German plate-casting machine which allowed one stereotyper to do work which had formerly required four. It wasn't that the stereotypers objected to the machine, but they wanted to keep the unnecessary three men on the job.

Two other industries have felt the sting of union resistance to automation. Although oil refineries—with their maze of pipes and automatic controls—employ far fewer men than most other industrial productive facilities, per unit of output, a Standard Oil (Indiana) executive told *Wall Street Journal* reporters that his company could reduce employment "by 20-30%, without these union rules to contend with." The resultant saving for one large refinery, he said, would amount to "around \$9 million a year, including fringe benefit costs."

Late in 1959, 8,300 Kennicott Copper Corporation union workers struck one of the company's western divisions after negotiations—tied to crew assignments and other featherbedding practices—broke down. The company demanded a change in its contract which required that three men be assigned to each strip-mining shovel and two to each bulldozer in operation. In both cases the company felt it could easily get along with one less crew member, because the machinery was now so automated.

The saving in the firm's Utah division alone, the company figured, would have amounted to \$324,000 annually, a tiny fraction of the wages it hoped to save by eliminating "bad shop practices, payroll padding and pay for time not worked."

FROM TIME TO TIME there have been legislative attempts by the Federal and state governments to end featherbedding, but they have all proved to be thoroughly ineffective. As former Congressman Wint Smith (for ten years a member of the House Labor Committee) explained, the reason illegal featherbedding activities are difficult to pinpoint is that often there are no contractual requirements for them. But, the Old Guard Kansas Republican added, as in everything else in life, customs and demands become just as dominant as written contracts.

Probably the first Federal attempt to outlaw featherbedding was the 1946 Lea Act, an amendment to the Communications Act. This ruling, applicable only to licensed broadcasters, dealt effectively with musicians unions' demands for payment of "stand-by" musicians (i. e. unwanted and unused musicians), for hiring more staff personnel than needed, and for payments for the use of recorded music.

This Act missed the heart of the problem, however, for much of the economic waste—which the law was powerless to reach—came from union jurisdictional requirements which often required using unnecessary and higher priced workers.

The anti-racketeering Hobbs Act, amended in 1946 to deal with the problem of union extortion,

was aimed at halting the indefensible union requirement that a union or a local driver be added to a truck carrying an inter-state shipment when it reaches a local community, and that a union member be "hired" to help unload the truck. The difficulty in enforcing this Act was the necessity to prove in court that the union used coercion, threats or violence in its demand.

The last Federal law aimed at featherbedding was section 8 (b) 6 of the Labor-Management Relations (Taft-Hartley) Act. This section was supposed to clearly, and for all time, define featherbedding. But, as a *Life* editorial noted, the "supposedly anti-featherbedding law of Taft-Hartley was carelessly written." Indeed it was. For even though the new law ruled out payments "for services which are not performed," the Supreme Court, in two separate 1953 rulings, held featherbedding legal as long as workers perform any service—or just stay on the job.

One of the cases involved charges by the American Newspaper Publishers Association against union printers' insistence on setting type which was never intended to be used (called "bogus"). In its decision, the court decreed that this provision did not restrict union insistence on performing unwanted work. In a more widely publicized case, an Akron concern (Gamble Enterprises) refused to employ "standby" musicians to play during intermission and before and after a "name" band's performance.

The name band refused to appear when the Akron local—aware that an American Federation of Musicians' contract bars outside bandsmen from playing a theatre without consent of the local union—withheld its OK.

The National Labor Relations Board sided with the union, a Federal court ruling sided with Gamble—claiming the local union violated Taft-Hartley by trying to force the theatre to employ musicians it did not need—but the Supreme Court allied itself with the NLRB. And, despite an *obiter dictum* that its opinion should not be interpreted as a blanket sanction of "other forms of featherbedding," and despite its advice that Congress was the proper place to seek relief, the damage had been done—Taft-Hartley's anti-featherbedding provision was as good as nullified. The law still permitted unions to demand that employers hire unwanted workers, so long as the workers were ready, willing and able to work. As Professor Benjamin Aaron of UCLA exclaimed after these rulings, "it will henceforth require remarkable tactical stupidity on the part of any union to bring section 8 (b) 6 into play."

From time to time other proposals have been advanced as a panacea for featherbedding practices. When Taft-Hartley amendments were being considered in 1953, Senator Robert A. Taft, co-author of the original law, asked that section 8 (b) 6 be strengthened or repealed because it was worthless as it stood—a statement borne out by the fact that, since the Supreme Court's Gamble Case in 1953, employers have attempted hundreds of times to bring

charges against unions, *every single time unsuccessfully*. As recently as four years ago the Attorney General's National Committee to Study the Antitrust Laws recommended that certain market controls and restrictive union practices be outlawed, but, like Senator Taft's recommendation, nothing ever came of it.

STATE LAWS, as might be expected, constitute a hodge-podge of conflicting rulings. (State anti-trust laws apply only to businesses which do not affect interstate commerce, and are valueless in checking featherbedding.) Ostensibly opposed to featherbedding, 23 states have laws legalizing these practices on railroads, while 17 contribute to featherbedding via "excess crew" laws requiring unneeded personnel on trains. The greater part of the blame for this sorry state of affairs must undoubtedly rest with those politicians who, in their eagerness to stay in office and to raise taxes, found railroads to be ideal whipping boys. But even the public has often been guilty of the same myopia, and not just regarding the railroads. In the fall of 1958, Arkansas voters rejected an anti-featherbedding referendum which would have made it unlawful to require an employer to hire more persons than he deemed necessary. Obviously, many of that state's voters—like voters in the 49 other states—are in need of basic economic education.

The desire to eliminate economic sloth oftentimes leads to a dilemma. In their zeal to rid our economy of these debilitating restraints of trade, many well-meaning people clamor for new and tighter government laws. But as G.E.'s Northrup explained, in order for the government to effectively legislate this, it would have to make so many decisions that it could conceivably end up regulating industrial relations.

Therefore, we doubt that anti-featherbedding legislation could be enforced, and we question the wisdom of pressing for it.

Contrary to popular belief, featherbedding is not impossible to eliminate, although the longer it persists the more difficult it will be to ferret out.

ORDER BLANK

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

Send me _____ reprints of "UNION FEATHERBEDDING"
at \$ _____

Additional copies of this 4-page article: single copy 20c (coins not stamps); 10 copies \$1; 25 copies \$2; 100 copies \$5; 500 copies \$20; 1,000 copies \$30. In 5,000 lots \$25 per thousand. Unless otherwise ordered, reprints are sent by fourth-class mail, which takes ten days to two weeks for delivery. For first-class mail delivery of 4-page articles, add 1c per copy; for airmail, add 2c per copy.

Enter my subscription ☐ 5 weeks for \$1 ☐ 1 year for \$12.50

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

IF YOU LIKE THIS ARTICLE . . . You should subscribe to HUMAN EVENTS, the weekly Washington Newsletter, reporting to 50,000 business and political leaders on politics, labor, taxes and business. HUMAN EVENTS will tell you each week the news behind the news from the Nation's Capital. TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION: \$1 for 5 weeks. One year: \$12.50. YOUR MONEY BACK IF DISSATISFIED.

Compulsory Unionism Upheld

By Warren S. Richardson

THE UNITED STATES Supreme Court in its decision of June 19, 1961, *International Association of Machinists vs. S. B. Street, et al.*, has managed to endorse the use of compulsion which is sanctioned by law. Although the Court held that railway unions cannot use an objecting individual's "exacted dues payment" for political purposes, Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., speaking for the majority, said "the conclusion to which this history clearly points is that [the Railway Labor Act] contemplated compulsory unionism to force employees to share the cost of negotiating and administering collective agreements and the cost of the adjustment and settlement of disputes."

Dissenting Justice Felix Frankfurter, joined by Justice John M. Harlan, attempted to dismiss altogether the use of compulsion in this case. In fact, Justice Frankfurter said:

"There is not a trace of compulsion involved—no exercise of restriction by Congress on the freedom of the carriers and union. On the contrary, Congress expanded their freedom of action. Congress lifted limitations upon free action by parties bargaining at arms length."

Query: What happened to individual freedom, the essential basis of all freedom?

Three other opinions, one each by Justices Hugo L. Black, William O. Douglas and Charles E. Whitaker, also upheld the theory of compulsion.

How do these legal opinions correspond with the facts of the *Street* case? Perhaps we should follow the late Alfred E. Smith's oft-repeated phrase, "Let's look at the record."

During the course of the trial in the lower court, all parties entered into a stipulation. This stipulation provides in part "that each of the statements in the attached 'Stipulation of Facts' is true, accurate and correct."

In Stipulation of Fact No. 5, it was agreed that a substantial number of employees had been compelled by the compulsory union shop agreement, against their wishes, to become members of and pay dues to the labor unions in order to maintain their employment.

By Stipulation of Fact No. 6, it was agreed that there were a substantial number of employees whose employment had been terminated (although their services were satisfactory) against their will by reason of the enforcement of the compulsory membership agreement.

Among other things, Stipulation of Fact No. 12 provides that the "union shop agreement . . . was negotiated by the labor union . . . without any authorization from the employees."

Furthermore, according to Stipulation of Fact No. 76, the "determination of the legislative, political, and ideological programs and activities" of the labor union "does not involve participation by the

plaintiffs," whose views "have not been sought" and who "have not ratified," nor "acquiesced" in them.

In Stipulation of Fact No. 19, the unions agreed that the periodic dues which the employees are forced to pay under the terms of the compulsory union membership agreement "have been, are being, and will be used in substantial part for purposes other than" collective bargaining and are used to support "ideological and political doctrines and candidates," which the protesting employees oppose and are not willing to support voluntarily.

Moreover, Stipulation of Fact No. 53 states, "The political activities mentioned in this Stipulation of Facts do not involve and are unnecessary to the negotiation, maintenance and administration of agreements concerning rates of pay, rules and working conditions, or wages, hours, terms and other conditions of employment or the handling of disputes relating to the above."

SOME NEWS STORIES since the *Street* case was handed down have given an impression that the amounts involved are only a small percentage of the total. This theory has already been scotched by Stipulation of Fact No. 43, wherein it is explained that the funds used by unions for political activities are "substantial."

Only a few of the 85 Stipulations of Fact have been presented. But these few illustrate vividly how compulsion is being used by union officials against the rank and file worker.

Who speaks for the worker? Certainly the Supreme Court does not protect the rank and file worker from this brutal use of compulsion.

More questions are raised by the Court in the *Street* case than are solved. If "there is not a trace of compulsion" in the compulsory union shop, is there also no compulsion in the properly outlawed yellow-dog contract (forbidding union membership)? If Congress expanded freedom of action by allowing compulsory unionism, why shouldn't Congress also expand by giving the railroad employee a right to sign the yellow-dog contract? Should not an employee have the right to join, or not to join a labor organization?

Right-to-work laws establish and promote voluntary unionism. A voluntary association would have suffered none of the problems presented in the *Street* case.

Justice Black eloquently summarized the proper solution to union compulsion in the following words:

"There is, of course, no constitutional reason why a union or other private group may not spend its funds for political or ideological causes if its members voluntarily join it and can voluntarily get out of it." (italics supplied.)

Warren S. Richardson is Associate General Counsel for the National Right To Work Committee.

Pork Barrel Spending

From the Richmond News Leader

Five years ago, when Congress approved the first grant-in-aid plan for local sewerage construction, this newspaper protested vainly against one more surrender of local responsibility. It seemed to us highly probable that the limited and modest grants of that first program would grow less limited and less modest as the years rolled on. This was one prediction, at least, that came true.

Congress now has completed approval of an act revising and expanding the pollution grant program. The maximum grant for any one locality has been raised from \$250,000 to \$600,000. Total authorizations have been increased from \$50 million per year to \$100 million per year. The program has been extended through June 30, 1968. Half the money must be spent on cities of 125,000 population or less.

What next, we wonder? There was a time when "pork barrel spending" applied only to river and harbor improvements. Today the constituents are kept happy, or at least unconscious, by Federal domination of highways, public welfare, urban renewal, aid to depressed areas, and, in this bill, local sewerage construction. Aid to school construction wavers in the balance. Medical care is not far off.

Perhaps this is why Congressmen are sent to Washington, to root around in the new pork barrels. But however it's packaged and sliced, what they bring home is the same old bacon.

Welfare Destroys Liberty

From the Weekly Labor Forecast & Review

The Administration is hammering together a 10-program domestic welfare state plan that would annihilate our basic American liberties.

Each of these programs includes a plan to increase centralism—the central government control of the vital elements of our economy.

Here's what the 10 programs would do:

1. Control factory locations.
2. Control wages in local intrastate business.
3. Control local school systems.
4. Control production and distribution of power.
5. Control city development.
6. Control the employment market.
7. Control hospitals . . . and ultimately medicine.
8. Control the farmers.
9. Control the market place.
10. Control of capital accumulation through tax tinkering. Or—to put it in two words.
Control us!

REPRINTS of this section available: single copy 20c; 10 for \$1; 25 for \$2; 100 for \$5; 500 for \$20; 1,000 for \$30. Order by section number and date of issue.

TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS: 5 weeks \$1. Yearly rate \$12.50; 6 months \$6.50. After you have read each section of HUMAN EVENTS, put it in an envelope and mail it to someone else who will value its contents.

A Surprise Ending

From the Omaha World-Herald

The Old Subscriber dropped into the office and announced that he had some fiscal advice for the President:

"Any Government, like any family, can for a year spend a little more than it earns. But you and I know that continuance of that habit means the poorhouse."

Sensible, we agreed. And right homey.

"Let us have the courage to stop borrowing to meet continuing deficits—stop the deficits!"

That, too, sounds reasonable, we remarked. Of course, we pointed out, the President is a busy man, and can't take time out to listen to advice from just any one.

The Old Subscriber took a deep breath and continued:

"If the nation is living within its income, its credit is good. If in some crisis, it lives beyond its income for a year or two, it can usually borrow temporarily at reasonable rates. But if, like a spendthrift, it throws discretion to the winds, and is willing to make no sacrifice at all in spending; if it extends its taxing power to pay, and continues to pile up deficits, it is on the road to bankruptcy."

Also sensible, we commented. Although we didn't want to disillusion the Old Subscriber, we cautioned him that the President might be a little reluctant to accept advice from an unknown.

This set the Old Subscriber to chuckling. The words that he had spoken, he assured us, were not original with him. They were uttered by a rather famous fellow who was running for President in 1932, name of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

SENATOR CAUCUS

by Pete Wyma



"It's going to cost me a fortune, Senator! They all want the 'Jackie look'!!"



BROWN



AYRES

Rocky Irks Congressmen

Governor Rockefeller sought to reverse Republican congressional votes against the 8.8 billion dollar back-door spending provision of the Kennedy foreign aid bill, by sending a telegram to each member of the House of Representatives who had voted against JFK. The unprecedented nature of the governor's action was that he wired not merely Republican Congressmen from New York State—but also Republicans from all other states.

The result of this arrogance was a near-unanimous hostile reception in Congress.

Clarence J. Brown (R.-Ohio) wired Rockefeller:

"Thank you for your advice on how to represent the taxpayers of Ohio Congressional District 7. To be equally helpful, I suggest that you get behind the city manager of Newburgh in his attempt to eliminate waste and corruption from the relief rolls."

William Ayres (R.-Ohio) sent Rocky a \$14.80 collect telegram. He told reporters that House members were enjoying a cloakroom tale that Rocky had received a wire from the White House signed "Jack," reading as follows:

"Please don't send any more telegrams. You've killed the bill already."

Do as We Say, Not...

"KENNEDYS, GO HOME!" European dislike for Kennedy has reached new heights as hotels abroad find rooms empty at seasonal peak.

Blamed are JFK measures to curb spending of dollars overseas.

Paris magazine *Combat* gave voice to a common thought when it said:

"If Kennedy wants Americans to stay home, what are his mother, his father, his brother, other assembled relatives and friends like Frank Sinatra, Peter Lawford, and Dean Martin doing in Europe? Does this policy not apply to Americans who are close to the White House?"

Another current Washington joke says the slogan of the New Frontier is: "Go waste, young man, go waste!"

Russia's Shortcomings

By Victor Riesel

Ankara, Turkey—Up in Kars along the Soviet frontier I was told by Muhlis Babaoglu, Permanent Undersecretary of the Turkish Home Office (sort of a ministry of justice, security, and national police) that the Russians had recently pulled back their watch towers and barbed wire fencing some 20 kilometers. When the regional Turkish Governor went out to see what had happened, he noted what appeared to be a fine, luxurious, small village. Then one of his soldiers pointed out that the Russian houses looked fine, but they had no chimneys. In other words they were fake, just fronts, such as the movie set makers erect. The Russians had wanted to impress the Turks.

The fact is that too many of us perpetuate the Russian legend of productive success. There is supposed to be a six per cent per annum growth inside Russia—twice ours. Actually the growth average over the past four decades has been 1.2 per cent a year.

In fact, there is evidence here that the Russians are in internal chaos. Their nonmilitary distributive system has broken down so that millions of tons of food and vegetables rot before getting to the big cities.

And in these big Soviet communities there is so little in the way of consumer goods—or even any nonmilitary industrial goods—that vast black markets exist. This has never before been reported in the US.

In Leningrad, for example, the vast black market, as in other cities, is institutionalized. There it is called a "second hand goods market." But it is simply a huge open lot where stuff brought in by sailors and tourists is sold.

In Lvov, the black market is called the "Field of Cunning." Without hundreds of these "flea markets" the Russian people would live barren lives.

Why don't we tell these stories? Why do we perpetuate the myth of Soviet superiority? Do we want to lose the young people of the underdeveloped world?

Shall the US, a land which is the symbol of salesmanship, lose because we permit N. S. Khrushchev to become the world's supersalesman?

How About This, Fulbright?

"If some of the large sums that have been expended to little or no avail in Korea and Taiwan (Formosa) had been invested in India and Brazil, those countries would now in all probability be considerably farther along the road to self-sustaining growth."

—Senator J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.)

And if we spent less in Korea and Formosa, our Pacific defense line today would most likely be keyed to Hawaii and Alaska, with perhaps some risky outposts on Guam and Wake Island.

Bound Volume of Human Events

Six Month Edition—January Through June, 1961

Pre-Publication Price—\$9.50

After September 15—\$15

HUMAN EVENTS is now publishing twice as many pages as one and one-half years ago. Where we were once able to bind a full year of HUMAN EVENTS in one volume, we are now forced, due to size and cost, to publish two semi-annual editions of this popular reference piece.

Each six-month volume will contain the entire collection of approximately 420 pages that appear in HUMAN EVENTS during that period. In addition, there will be about 20 pages of cross-index (compiled by the Decker & Baker Indexing Service), and the Table of Contents.

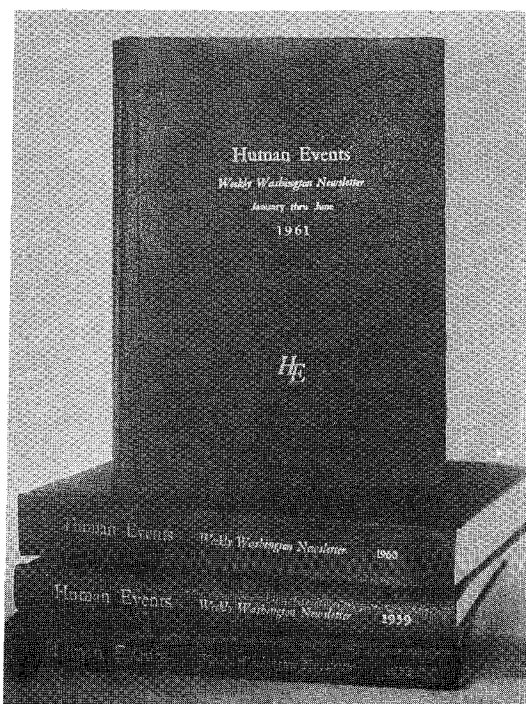
In all, there will be 450 pages in this and future half-yearly Bound Volumes. Covered with beautiful blue Fabrikoid cloth, printed with gold-leaf lettering and bound by Washington's most expert quality craftsmen, the volume will be a handsome addition to your collection of the best in conservative literature.

Costs prohibit us from printing more than a limited quantity of these books. Usually they are sold out before the next edition is ready for binding. THERE CAN BE NO REPRINTING OF THE

VOLUME. Once sold, there will be no more. To insure the continuity of HUMAN EVENTS in your library, you must place an order to reserve your copy TODAY. Orders will be filled on a first-come, first-served basis.

To encourage EARLY orders for this Bound Volume, the editors of HUMAN EVENTS have prepared this special offer:

If you will order your copy before September 15th, you can take advantage of the special pre-publication price of \$9.50. You need not pay now. We will bill you *after* you receive the book, if you wish. After September 15th, the price of this volume will be \$15. You save \$5.50—more than one-third—by ordering now!



To reserve your copy TODAY, use this order blank. Check the appropriate box, fill in your name and address, and return it to us immediately. **YOU NEED NOT PAY UNTIL AFTER YOU HAVE RECEIVED YOUR BOUND VOLUME.** Delivery about September 15th.

ORDER BLANK

HUMAN EVENTS 410 First Street, S. E., Wash 3, D. C.

Send me the HUMAN EVENTS BOUND VOLUME for January through June, 1961 as soon as it is available.

☐ Payment Enclosed

☐ Bill Me

☐ Bill My Company

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____